3: Schröder AE9 Monguor AE9

756, 791, 792

/Information on religious specialists has been filed as follows:

756 - drum-shaman or bo (fa-shih)

756 - gurtum or warrior-shaman

791 - spirit-spear sooth-sayer

791 - bon priest

792 - lamas

[27 cont.]

The sword-shamans heal the sick, drive away demons, and practice soothsaying. In so doing, they wound themselves and the sick with the sword and burn themselves with fire, but if they are true shamans, this does not harm them.

Details

Dress: The shamans wear an ordinary long garment. Sometimes they also put on a robe similar to that of the Chinese bonze, except that it is red. They girdle themselves with a red belt. On the chest they wear an amulet with a god's figure or a little bag with the hada [scarf-like ceremonial cloth] that the lama has given them at the consecration. It is their tutelary spirit. They throw the wide shoulder-collar over it, which falls with the points over the chest, back, and shoulders. It is of various colors and often beautifully cut. They hang the breast-mirror on a red string over the shoulder collar. Formerly this was made of gold; now it is made of copper. The shaman rubs it to a shine with incense ashes. The mirror is round and has a diameter of 15 to 20 centimeters. In the middle it has a round protuberance, on which the tutelary deity's name is sometimes inscribed in Tibetan signs. Several colorful hada-cloths are suspended from the two eyelets of the mirror. -- On their heads the shamans wear a red headcloth. It is about 50 to 80 centimeters square. One tip is cut off to a breadth of about 20 centimeters; at these cut ends there are two red bands; the cloth looks like an irregular pentagon. They sew five small copper horse-rattles on the cut edge. The cloth is thrown over the head in such a fashion that the edge with the little bells runs across the forehead and the other tips fall down over the ears and shoulders. They fasten the cloth on the back of the head with the bands. -- Over this headcloth they then tie a five-part crown similar to that of the lamas (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 32.] The headcloth is not always of this kind. There are also cloths that are larger and that have no bells. In this case the shaman ties on a

[28 cont.]

752 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
[576] He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms, chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

●[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
*[778] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit], the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
[609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all
[562] may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter the room in which the trance takes place.

[31 cont.]

192 The shaman's sword: aradzi = two-edged sword; wadăm (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

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*[778]

12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sõn̊kuor: Tibetan skyon̊ = protection, 'k'or = little disks (Unkrig).

[776] The tutelary-spirit -- hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sõn̊kuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.

*[778] Chest-mirror: mălõn̊ (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.

Headcloth: tolgue bañladzin = the head covering. pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).

Rattles: xõn̊guor; ling-êrh (Chin.).

Plowshare: timur ndziesĕ; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).

Thorns: huang-ts'ê (Chin.).

●[789] To banish devils: ilie sdzira; pudag sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33] 3. The Bon Priest*

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* See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

[34 cont.]

000 represent long hair.

791 778 534 [789] [765] Equipment: Like the lamas, they have a bell, a large, two-sided drum, a small double-drum (hourglass drum); for exorcising demons they use a whip made of human skin and a bone flute. Furthermore, they have Tibetan books, sounding boards, and thunderbolt.

The drum was formerly made of human skulls, over which human skin was stretched for the drumhead. The whip had a handle of human bones. The flute was made of the shinbone of a full-grown girl who had not yet married and had lost her life through suicide or an accident. It is open at one end and cut off smoothly. This end serves as mouthpiece and is inlaid with metal. The other end has a small hole on each of the two condyles. The flute is wrapped with the girl's skin; it is sewed tight (5). The same skin is also used for plaiting the whip and

5. [Foreign text p. 35.] The reports vary concerning the bone from which the flute is made. Most of them say that it is the shinbone; others claim that it is the thigh bone. I did not learn anywhere that the periosteum had to be eaten. -- The flute has an uncannily plaintive tone; it has an especially penetrating effect at night, when it is often heard in lamaseries. -- The Bon also try to drive away unpleasant events with the sound of the flute, for example, a punitive expedition, tax collectors, soldiers, etc., as happened in Kweiteh, for instance.

[789]

covering the drum. There are certain regulations for the manufacture of these objects. The Bon priest makes the implements himself (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 35.] What is here said concerning the making of the flute, drum, and whip is confirmed by other people, but no one has seen how they are made in detail. Some say it has to be a girl who has not yet

[34 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 35 cont.] menstruated; others maintain the opposite. At any rate, she has to be an unmarried person. In this connection cf. what is said in the section concerning death customs and cremation: that they are demons and are especially feared by demons.

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[789]

Activities: A special activity of the Bon priests is the erection of the pole-goat and conjuring away storms, as well as the making and conjuring of the figure-litter. Otherwise they have almost the same activities as the other soothsayers: they designate lucky days for housebuilding, traveling, etc.; they question fate concerning sickness and medicine, For soothsaying, [787] however, they use no special instruments; instead they have books from which they take everything. There are also Bon [755] priests who have learned to take the pulse and to prescribe medicines and are able to cure without magic. -- The Bon priests do not go into a trance, but only pray (6).

6. [Foreign text p. 35.] The Bon are regarded with a kind of secret fear by the Tujen. They also have something to do with springs and mountains. It is said that they often dwell alone in tents in remote ravines and at wells throughout the summer. There they pray, conjure away storms, etc. Perhaps this seclusion contributes to the fact that all kinds of uncanny machinations are reported of them.

Word List

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Shepherd-Bon: sënoǧsa (snaǧsa) (7); ch'an-t'ou peng-po (Chin.) = Bon with queue wound up.

[45 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 49 cont.] offering is widespread everywhere among the nomads of Tsinghai and has been partially taken over by the Chinese. It is also practiced in all lamic monasteries. Even if it does not come from Buddhism, it has been taken up by it in the ritual and honored with "incense-sutras," which are recited during the burning of aromatic substances in honor of the gods. The additions superimposed on the original simple form also come from Lamaism. Concerning this original form, its origin and religious dedication to heaven, cf. Part Two.

783 The purification-fire: Aside from this incense offering, cypress incense is also burned on other occasions, but only for purification, for example, to fumigate the house to drive away the demons, to fumigate the sacrificial sheep, to fumigate the face and hands at religious ceremonies. This fire, however, is accorded no veneration; no kowtow is made before it; it is not sprinkled with water, and no butter or any kind of addition is put in it. It is not an offering. Should someone accidentally burn an actual incense offering, he can use even this for the purpose of purification (9).

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9. [Foreign text p. 49.] On other occasions, too, the fire is used as a means of purification. For instance, according to an ancient custom, a Tujen widow, when she remarries, must step across a fire, just as among the Chia-Fandse the bride is led over fir-tree fire (sung-p'an). The fire-jumping in the night of the full moon after New Year's may have the same significance; cf. "The New Year's Festival," Note 6. Not only the fire has

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[796]
[782]

[76 cont.]

192 hung ni-tan-tzu (Chin.) = red clay clods.

*778 Gaps in the wall: tsiäṅguäṅ = windows.

The great urn: lha-wum (Tib.) = spirit urn (receptacle).

ġlo-wum (Tib.) = earth-god urn.

ġlo-wum gõṅluc (Tuj.) = earth-god urn receptacle.

The small urns: snoġ dĕr (Tib. loanword) = magic-urn.

Contents of the receptacle: rdzẽ (Tib.).

yang-wu (Chin.) = things.

Mountain-earth: sa-sena (Tib.) (?) [see Note 7 above]; siru = earth.

Water: tsũ-sena (Tib.); ſdzẽ = water.

Wood: siṅ sena (Tib.); mõdë = wood.

Buddha gold: sdzer (?) [see Note 7 above]; sädoġ (Tib.).

Mother of pearl ? wsirẽ (Tib.) (?) [see Note 7 above]; shan-hu (Chin.) = coral.

Precious stone: mädoġ (Tib.) = flower; chen-chu = jewel.

Earth-god spice: ġlo-smän (Tib. loanword).

Little water-bowl: doṅsär (Tib. loanword).

Black incense: gukual

hei-hsiang (Chin.).

[782] Prayer of consecration: rami.

Red earth: fulan siru; huang-tan (Chin.) = yellow ocher.

[77]

[784] Magic formulas: snaġ (snoġ).

Mandala drawing: sdzi ṅkuor (Tib. loanword).

Ridge-piece: chung-leang (Chin.) = center beam.

Red-hot stone: ts'u-t'an, ch'ü-t'an (Chin.); sõdäṅ; sõdäṅ (?) [see Note 7 above].

Procession around the chorten chamber: sguora (Tib. loanword).

[Pages 77-79 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 79, and the next section begins on p. 620.]

[626 cont.]

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[789]

[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

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8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

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Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

[636 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 652 cont.]
animal with wool. In the case of hemp this is impossible, for one is not transformed into a plant.

The informant claimed to know nothing about hemp as a means of frightening off demons, as, for example, in the case of the hemp whip of the shamans. It may be that Chinese influence makes itself felt here, for the Chinese, too, use only hemp in connection with the dead, and it also plays an important role in the mourning costume (hemp belt, hair string, hemp veil, etc.). Strict mourning is therefore called simply "hemp mourning," ma-hsiao, among the Chinese.

[789]

764 about two ells square, cuts a round hole in the middle, and throws it over the dead person's head in such a way that the tips fall over the chest, back, and shoulders. This cloth is
[766] called "death garment." It is yellow for persons who have received the age-consecration, white for young people. It does not matter what kind of cloth it is made of (5). -- All

5. [Foreign text pp. 652-653.]
The shoulder-throw is strongly reminiscent of the shoulder-collars of the shamans. A connection could not be discovered. The Tujen maintain that
[789] the cloth is usually taken off before cremation: later one uses it as an amulet, since it has great healing and protective power. With regard to this, the informant observed that one could indeed take off the white shoulder-cloth before cremation, but that it had no magical power
[766] and was used for profane purposes. The

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the declared opponent of the white tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger is powerless against anything that comes from the dead or is connected with the dead; he fears coffins, death-boxes, burials, etc. For that reason coffin-making is the best opportunity for making a rolling pin, and therefore the rolling pin is propped against the death-box. The relationship of the tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutralized. -- People very rarely have a rolling pin made other than at the time of a burial; the carpenter must then plane the pole on a threshing roller, the enemy of the white tiger. The millstone also has an effect similar to that of the threshing roller, for it crushes the provider of the "white," that is, the grain from which the flour comes.

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all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box. Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside from the bone-casket I once saw a small wooden casket of coffin-like form beside a death-box. The people said a small manlike doll lay in it. It was supposed to keep misfortune and death away from the house. The informant had not yet seen that and thought that this custom had come from

[789]

[638 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.] the Chinese. Among the Chinese I learned the following: If someone died on an unlucky day -- which the geomancer determines -- there is danger that he will take someone else from the family with him into the beyond. In order to prevent this, the family provides a substitute at the interment. They lay a human figure made of apricot or peach wood, which the demons particularly fear, in a miniature coffin. At the interment this miniature coffin is buried at the base of the grave and the actual coffin is put on top of it. -- The Tujen bury the miniature coffin under the bone-chest. The Chinese name for this custom is ch'ung-sang, that is, double interment. One would do better to translate it as "accompanying interment." It clearly has nothing to do with an escort for the dead and the double interment in the usual sense. A kind of after-consumer [Nachzehrer] is involved here.

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Gifts for the dead: The Tujen make an offering of 12 loaves of bread and a water-lamp before the dead (10). First,

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10. [Foreign text p. 654.] Death-gifts and offering regulations correspond with those of the Chinese. The water-lamp, shui-teng, is an earthen bowl which is half-filled with water, beans are usually also added. A layer of oil is poured on the water. A little wooden plate, into which a wick is stuck, floats

[823 cont.] 2. The Pole-goat

Report

241 739 791 778 When the seed has shot up in the early summer, one invites a Bon priest who prays on a mountain and erects the pole-goat. He comes to the seed-master on the day before, and on the following morning he goes with the men to the mountain. There they drink tea. The Bon priest sits on a felt mat. A low kang table is put before him so that he may place his cult objects upon it, and next to him is put an earthen vessel with tsamba, butter, and little gold leaves, as well as a bowl of water and red dye. He needs this for the torma. To this is added a little plate with barley and the holy-water can.

[782] First the men make the great incense offering, which is maintained throughout the performance. The Bon priest makes four little tormas, called "misfortune-tormas," which he places with all kinds of extra features on a tray. The seed-master goes in the four directions of the compass with the tray and each time throws away a torma.

[824] Then the Bon priest makes the "weather-torma." [825] Meanwhile the men slaughter a goat, stuff the hide, and put it on a tall pole. They lay this, together with the goat doll, before the Bon priest. He ties four little wooden wedges to its feet and a special wedge on the goat's forehead. He inscribes the wedges with Tibetan magical signs. Then the pole is set up, and the priest places the weather-torma, together with the [782] extra features, before the pole. A great incense offering and frequent kowtowing accompany this ceremony.

Then the priest goes to his place and makes the "mountain-torma." It has three layers and is the largest of all the tormas. He puts this behind the pole. Again incense is burned and all kowtow.

241 789 791 [782] [264] In the meantime other men have boiled the goat meat in the kettle. The seed-master now makes an offering of this meat to the gods. At the conclusion there is then a communal meal at which the remainder of the meat is consumed. Then all go home, but there is no singing and drinking as on other occasions.

[824 cont.]

241 This is the ceremonial erection of the pole-goat. In
789 the case of the simple type only one misfortune-torma is made,
791 which represents the four others; there is also the weather-
[778] torma. The mountain-torma is omitted and no magical wedges are tied to the goat.

When one has undertaken the ceremonial erection, the
[782] Bon priest must come often during the summer and hold prayer services before the pole-goat. In the autumn, after the harvest,
[465] he receives from each family a certain measure of grain as compensation. In the case of the simple erection, without any summer prayer, only on the day itself is he given a large loaf of bread and a piece of meat from the loin of the goat.

Details

241 Time: The time of the erection is determined by the
789 soothsayer, and in the local temple. It always falls in the period
791 from the thirteenth day in the fifth lunar month to the sixth day
787 in the sixth lunar month. One may also let the Bon priest determine the day. He uses three dice for this. He compares the numbers thrown with his soothsaying book and in this manner determines a day (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 829.] The time coincides with that in which the Chinese put their weather forts in order and drive in the thunderbolts (ch'a p'ai).

241 Place: The pole-goat is always erected on the highest
789 mountain in the people's own local area, and only on one mou-
778 tain and only one goat. Small hamlets or compounds may do it together; then the highest mountain of all these hamlets is
[621] chosen (1). -- The spot on the mountain itself is indicated by
[791]

1. [Foreign text p. 829.] If the mountain is too far away, one sets up a tent and lives there.

[824 cont.]

241 the soothsayer when the pole-goat is raised for the first time.
789 This spot is then always retained. A hole is dug there and covered
778 with a clod of earth or a rock so that it will not be destroyed by
[791] the next year.

The place is never taboo, regardless of whether the pole-goat stands there or not. One may pasture animals there, start a fire, etc. Women need not avoid it.

241 [825] Persons: Only a Bon priest may undertake the
784 performance, never a lama or a soothsayer. Nowadays the cus-
791 tom is scarcely ever practiced because the Bon priests have died
[178] out. It is still found only in very remote mountain villages. The simple ceremony is performed by a Bon priest of the second class,
[242] the solemn ceremony by a Bon priest of the first class because he has special magical power. The costume is that of the ordinary people since the Bon priest is, of course, a farmer. He merely needs to wear the forehead wreath and a long garment.

In addition the following act with him: the seed-master and his helper, the village elders, and generally all men, all soothsayers. It is enough, however, if only one soothsayer is represented, for instance, a sword-shaman, a spirit-table
[562] soothsayer, etc. Women must not witness the ceremony, but little girls may watch.

241 The pole: It does not matter of what wood and amidst
789 which ceremonies the pole is made. Usually it is a slender
778 poplar tree ten meters long. The village itself is responsible for this pole. It is used every year and kept in the family of the
[621] annually alternating seed-master. It may be burned, cut up, etc. when it has served its purpose for several years.

The goat: Ordinarily it is a wool goat; color, age, sex, size, etc. are unimportant. It is true that the people prefer horned goats over the hornless. No one cares about the origin of the goat; it may be purchased, be a gift, etc. After it has been taken down from the pole in the autumn, the hide belongs to the seed-master, but it is so dilapidated that it is not usable.

241 789 778 [825 cont.] It therefore, with the head, is left to be eaten by wolves and dogs. The hide is not used for magic.

[791] The misfortune-torma: The Bon priest washes his hands and face and makes a little torma of tsamba mixed with butter about ten centimeters high and three to four centimeters wide. He puts it on a tray or a wooden plate. As extra features he adds in very small quantities: raw mutton or pork, leeks, beets, breadcrumbs, white and black sheep's wool, five kinds of grain, tea leaves, money, silver, gold, five little pieces of cloth, five-colored threads, and black and white sugar and puts a dough-lamp with a burning cotton wick beside them. These extra features also apply to the three other tormas, in other words, to all four little misfortune-tormas.

[533] [782] [791] The extra features, along with the tormas, are thrown in all four directions of the compass, while the seed-master, amidst blowing on the conch, makes the great incense offering and the Bon priest prays the appropriate spirit conjuration. For the first four tormas the Bon priest uses only the sounding plate and the bone flute, not the double drum and bell.

In the case of the simple ceremony with only one misfortune-torma, naturally only one direction of the compass can be considered. This one is indicated by the Bon priest himself.

[791]

241 789 778 825 [787] Making the pole-goat: The Bon priest does not concern himself about the goat. The men fumigate and wash the goat as usual and pour milk over it; while the goat shakes itself, they make [826] a threefold kowtow in a circle around it, because the sky accepts the animal. Then the goat is slaughtered and the blood caught in a basin. In skinning it one does not slit open the belly side, but rather an incision is made below the tail which just suffices to pull off the hide from behind over the head. The head is cut off inside the hide so that it remains whole and unskinned within it. In the same fashion one cuts off the feet, leaving them in the hide. Only then is the skinned goat [illustration appears here] eviscerated and cut up, and the [252] blood, with the scraps of meat, is stuffed into the cleaned intestines.

[826 cont.]

241 These intestines, together with the meat, are cooked in a kettle over
789 a hole in the ground.
778 The hide is tightly stuffed with any kind of straw in such a
[825] way that the head and legs stick out stiffly, and the pole is stuck
[252] in it from the rear up to the head. Thus the goat sits firmly upright on the pole and need not be tied on. Then the men fumigate goat and post with incense and lay it down before the Bon priest.

The raised pole-goa
(Drawing of a Tujen

[532] The weather-torma: The Bon priest
[791] meanwhile has finished the second torma, the weather-torma. It is exactly the same size as the first, that is, the four first tormas. With a prayer he puts it on a wooden tray with the following extra features: one to three butter-lamps, three little copper bowls with pure water, a little bowl of the barley wine, a little bowl of Tibetan barley or wheat, a little bowl of tea leaves, a little bowl of dough beans [Teigbohnen]. -- This torma also bears several colorful butter-flowers.
[791] During its preparation the Bon priest prays a special weather-prayer.
[787] Sometimes he also pastes some paper money on the torma. [Illustration appears here.]

Magic dagger,
wooden peg, mpuru.
(From the drawing of a
Tujen.)

[826 cont.]

241 789 778 [791] The wedges: After making the torma the Bon priest inscribes the wedges. They are provided by the seed-master. They have the form of the Lamaistic magic dagger; they are three-edged, seven inches (23 centimeters) long, and one inch (3.3 centimeters) wide. Only the hardest wood is used; in that region there are only the three kinds: huang-san-tzu, hei-ts'u, hua-mu (7).

[824]

7. [Foreign text p. 830.] The names could not be identified; huang-san-tzu seems to be black sandalwood; hua-mu is birch. In any case it is supposed to be the hardest wood that can be found. Among the kinds of wood there, birch is in fact regarded as one of the hardest; people even make wheel rims out of it.

It does not matter whether all of them are made from one of these kinds or whether all the kinds are used. There are five wedges in all. The head of the wedge is notched into three parts (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 829.] The shape of the magic dagger varies. The grip in particular varies, but usually it is three stepped death's-heads. The daggers that I saw were all of iron. I also heard, however, that formerly there were daggers of human bones. In this way the three-edged pointed shape and the bone knob could be easily explained; it would also fit in well with the skull drum, skin whip, bone flute, etc. -- The black color signifies iron.

[765]

[826 cont.]

241 The seed-master places these wedges on the table before
789 the Bon. The latter inscribes all three sides with Tibetan magic
778 formulas. For this purpose he uses Chinese ink and the brush or
791 the Tibetan bamboo pencil. The wedge that is intended for the
[217] head of the goat [827] has a black hada slung around it at the head and a black string or a small chain in the middle.

Then some of the wool is cut from the pole-goat lying in front of the Bon, a few threads are twisted together, and with these the Bon priest ties on the wedges, one on each foot and one between the horns. All five wedges have the tip downward.
[788] He then sprinkles water from his holy-water can over goat and pole, takes a pinch of Tibetan barley, blows on it three times, and scatters it over the whole.

241 The erection of the pole-goat and the offering: The
789 men set the pole in the hole and wedge it tight with stones
791 and earth. The goat must face the northwest because storms
782 usually come from there. As soon as the pole is firmly set,
[821] the Bon brings the weather-torma, together with the extra features, to the foot of the pole, sets it down, and immediately returns to his place in order to continue the weather-prayer.
[823] Now he accompanies the prayer only with his drum and the bell. Again the men make a great incense offering amidst blowing on the conch.

241 The mountain-torma: Then the mountain-torma is
789 prepared. It has three steps, is round, and looks like a pyramid
778 with terraces about ten centimeters high. Altogether it is about 40 centimeters high. The torma is painted with soft butter colored red and is given the following extra features: on the first layer, water animals, frog, snake, fish, dragon, turtle, and, further, little stones, little lumps of earth, and finally a few squirts of water; on the second layer, mountain animals, deer, horse, yak, half-yak, sheep, goat, hare, fox, wolf, and a few little pieces of wood; on the third layer animals of the air, phoenix, eagle, peacock, magpie, dove, swallow, and, further, sun disk and moon sickle. On the uppermost tip are

[827 cont.]
241 placed various kinds of real flowers (3).

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3. [Foreign text p. 829.] This is a representation of the world with animals and stars, in other words, a
[782] mandala. It is interesting that the informant designates this torma as an offering, as well as all the extra features of the torma, whereas the two other tormas represent spirits.

[791] These figures are all made in miniature from butter and tsamba by the Bon priest himself. He places the torma on the tray with exactly the same sacrificial extra features as in the case of the weather-torma. This torma is likewise brought to the foot of the pole, usually behind it and somewhat elevated. Lamps and little bowls are put in front of it. Thus, two tormas
[791] in all stand under the pole-goat. While the Bon priest goes
[782] back and continues his prayers, the men again burn incense.

241 The goat offering: The goat offering consists of the
789 throwing of sacrificial meat. While the Bon priest rests from
782 his prayers, the spear-soothsayer (or another) indicates the direction in which the offering is to be made and, with the shaking spear, supervises the performance. The seed-master
[791] takes a bowl of the broth from the kettle and throws it in the air for the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then four throws in the four directions of the compass follow, and finally three throws toward the northwest for the weather-spirits. At each throw the men kneel down and make a three-fold kowtow.

241 With that the actual ceremony is concluded. The
789 men sit down [828] around the kettle, consume the remaining
791 meat, and drink tea. Then all go home, including the Bon priest. -- The tormas are either burned in the fire or simply left standing.

[828 cont.]

241 The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the
789 farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an
791 offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the
782 seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish
789 bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only
776 among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The
825 goat has special protective power because its head serves as an
821 anvil for the god Dăntsien Sañ. He is the smith in the weather ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.] The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It is uncertain, however, whether borrowings are involved. At any rate, in the popular tradition of the Tujen the Bon priest has a special connection with weather magic (cf. also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dăntsañ (Dăntsien Sañ) the informant knew nothing other than that there is an image of

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[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 829-830 cont.] him in the monastery Rgulõn and that he is a tutelary god of the Bon. Däntsien is evidently a Tujen corruption of the Tibetan dam-can, "keeping a vow" (cf. Ch. Das, p. 618). This is only a general title which could be applied to many gods. According to Grünwedel (Mythologie, pp. 187 ff.), Ch. Das (p. 618), and others, however, it refers to the Lamaistic terror-god rDo-rje-legs (pa), who rides on a goat (ram) and [830] was elevated to the tutelary lord (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. H. Hoffmann denies that he is a Tantristic god and wants to designate him as an old Bon god, in which he is correct,as the ceremony described here indicates. He then continues (Quellen [Sources], p. 164): "There is an interesting statement by Jäschke, as yet unconfirmed, according to which Rdor-legs ... was an honorable village smith. ... At any rate it is noteworthy that Waddell also speaks of a 'demon blacksmith' [cited in English]." These surmises can now be confirmed by the ceremony of the pole-goat and the tradition connected with it. The dam-can is a smith-god of the Bon and stands in a special relationship to the weather conjuration and to the goat cult which, after all, likewise belongs to the realm of the Bon or is at least pre-Buddhistic. (Cf. the old name of Lhasa, which was originally called Ra-sa, Goat-place, and had a temple of the same name.)

[828 cont.]
241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
821 befalls the seed and human beings (6).

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6. [Foreign text p. 830.]
Weather magic plays an important role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

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Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[828 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.]
weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

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The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

[782] The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons.
[791] The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged
[535] magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed
[765] to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this, like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 The pole-goat: aradziãń (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out
789 the goat.

ima rẽdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[829 cont.]

192 241 ●789 [782]

Weather-prayer: dirëdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword) (8).
lei-pu ching (Chin.) - weather ministry prayer.

8. [Foreign text p. 830.] xsertsien: Tibetan gser = golden, skyem = drink. It is the Mongolic altan umdagan, golden drink, poured out at the obo offering, the tea offering before the obo. An offering to the local gods. --guax: Tibetan skyeg (pronounced kag) = misfortune. --mpuru: Tibetan p'ur bu = nail, peg; can also be a god's name. --satsiog: Tibetan sa = place, skyon = to guard, to preserve; king, protector. --darnag̈: Tibetan dar = silk, nag = black (Unkrig).

[778] Misfortune-torma: g̈uax (8) [see Note 8 above] s̈dor (Tib.).
Weather-torma: dirdzia xsertsien (Tib. loanword)? cf. weather-prayer.
Mountain-torma: rira (Tib. loanword) = world-mountain, Sumeru, mandala.
Magic dagger: mpuru (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above]; ting-shen-chuang; spirit peg (Chin.).
To notch: nduodba (Tib. ?).
Magic formulas: snag̈ (sënog̈).
[791] Bon priest second class: xuändie; sënog̈sa (snag̈sa) (Tib. loanword). peng-po (Chin.).
Weather conjuration: satsion (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above.]
The black hada (on the dagger): chao-t'ien p'a (Chin.) = the sky-covering veil.
darnag̈ (Tib. loanword) (8) [see Note 8 above].
The black string: fsiasg̈a (Tib. loanword) = lasso for capturing horses.
k'un-hsien sheng (Chin.): the genii-binding string.

[Pages 829-830 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[842 cont.]

Word List

192
778 Consecration-band: šdier (Tib. loanword).
hung-tzu (Chin.) = the red.
To tie on the consecration-band: šdier fuya-.
[825] The consecration-animal: šdier.
Sacred horse: šdier mori; sheng ma (Chin.).
Sacred sheep: šdier xoni; sheng yang (Chin.).
Sacred goat: šdier ima; sheng chia-la (Chin.), etc.

[Pages 842-844 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[844]

000 2. The Demon-escort *

* See "Notes," pp. 846-847 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

789 The demon-escort consists of leading the harmful spirit
[791] out of the house and releasing it in the distance. It is done upon
[777] the command of the soothsayer in case of family misfortune.

On a set day one invites a lama to the house. He prays
[792] for six days with the usual ceremonies and makes several tormas
[778] with the appropriate additions, as on other occasions. The
[782] compound is taboo, and the master of the household makes the great incense offering three times a day.

In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes the actual
[778] demon-torma, which, with all kinds of provisions for travel, is
[792] placed on a table in front of the household altar.

On the seventh day one takes the torma, along with a
[825] riding animal carrying the travel provisions, outside the village

[844 cont.]
789 and releases the animal. It may run where it will; no one pays
[825] any attention to it.

Details

789 Persons: The demon-releasing may be undertaken by: a
792 lama, but not a hutukhtu, a Bon priest, a shaman, a spear-
791 soothsayer, or other soothsayers with litter, table-god, etc. The
757 six-day prayer service, however, is undertaken only by lamas and Bon priests; this is the great releasing, [845] whereas the ceremony performed by a shaman or soothsayer alone is the little releasing. Even though at the great releasing the lama may do everything himself, usually a soothsayer nonetheless goes along (spear, litter, etc.). The members of the family take care of everything else, getting the animals ready, gifts, etc.

789 The animals: The animals permissible are: horses,
825 cattle, sheep, goats, hens, and cocks. Those not permitted are
[783] dogs, pigs, mules, half-yaks. Dogs and pigs are regarded as unclean. Mules and half-yaks are incapable of reproduction; for this reason, too, one does not take castrated animals. The rules connected with the animal-consecration do not apply here. The animals are ridden by the demons and carry the burdens on their travels. The hens, however, can be burdened; one simply lets them fly. They are therefore usually used only for the "little releasing." Special ceremonies, such as washing and fumigating, are not performed on the animals; also color and age are unimportant.

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789 The travel provisions: The following things are packed
[414] in the travel bag, which is usually woven out of wool: money
[415] (any kind of money, just so long as it is in circulation at the time), cloth (for instance, cotton, silk, linen, of any color), a strand of unspun wool, cotton or silk threads (no wool threads), tea leaves, baked or steamed loaves in any number desired, a food bowl of porcelain or clay (no ordinary wooden one), new men's clothing, elegant boots, cloth shoes, an elegant cap or an

[845 cont.]

elegant hat, black and white sugar, fresh good butter, a piece of raw meat, dates, apples, and other fruits. All these things must be new; they may not have been used even once, for otherwise the demon is not satisfied and returns.

Releasing: In the evening of the sixth day the lama makes a large three-cornered torma (1). The master of the household

1. [Foreign text pp. 846-847.] This form of torma can frequently be seen in lamaseries. They are especially reserved for demons. It is usually a pyramid of dough from 30 to 50 centimeters high. The types seem to vary. I saw some that were hung with intestines and bore death's-head figures (at the banishing of the mBarma in Kumbum); others had an arrow with a mani-wheel stuck in them, etc. Evidently the Tibetan zor, Mongol. = sor [847] (Unkrig), is involved. Ch. Das writes under zor, p. 1098: "reaping-hook, a sickle, a knife, esp. the weapons employed in combating the evil spirits in the gtor ma offerings, such as knife, sword, sling, bow and arrows" [cited in English]. There is a very detailed description of the manufacture, consecration, and use of the zor in Pozdneev, Skizzen [Sketches] (pp. 283 ff.): "A three-cornered pyramid, hollow on the inside, which is made of dough and colored a flaming red, is called zor. Figures are engraved on it with the burin, such as flowers, circles, fiery tongues, etc., as a result

[845 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 846-847 cont.]
of which the whole pyramid is given the appearance of a fiery, flaming bonfire. The representation of a skull, which is likewise made of dough, is put on the tip. But then the same kind of skulls are placed at the foot of each of the three corners. An arrow is stuck in the middle of the pyramid, from which hadak hang, and which, instead of feathering, bears a little wheel ..." etc. (Translated by W.A. Unkrig.) Lessing maintains of the arrow in the zor: "To this arrow attached a 'ghost or spirit', as my informant put it" [cited in English] (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148). -- Whether and to what extent this arrow in the demon-torma is connected with the arrow of good fortune is unclear. One conceives of the zor most simply as bearer of the weapons that are feared by the demons. A similarity with the weapon-bearing and demon-combating gurtum is undeniable.

789 places it on a table in front of the household altar, but not on the altar. Alongside it he places the sack with the clothing and food provisions.

[791] [787] On the following morning, the seventh day, one invites the spear-soothsayer. After a good breakfast he summons the spirit and determines the exact hour in which the demon must be carried away. Usually it is done immediately following the soothsaying.

[791] [792] A man takes the saddlebag, the lama the tray with the torma that represents the demon, and behind him follows the

[845 cont.]
789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
757 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[846 cont.]

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[782]

2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

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Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[846 cont.]

If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the demon will punish him.

Word List

Demon escort: rëdzõ̃wa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away that which is to be taken away.

The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].

Saddlebag: dadzĕ (Chin. loanword).

Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

. . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

[1] [i.e. - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[847 cont.]

Details

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755 Time: Ordinarily the ceremony takes place when a child is sick. It can also be undertaken, however, as a preventive measure against [848] sickness. Then the third or ninth month is chosen by preference.

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791 Place: One stays in one's own house and does not go into the local temple; the Bon priests also live in the compound. The place is taboo during these days. The burning of the objects must always be done outside the place.

789
782 The prayer service: For the prayer service the Bon priests bring along a large double drum, which is suspended from a beam (1), and, furthermore, sounding plates, a hand bell,
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[534]

1. [Foreign text p. 849.] By means of a ring the drum is suspended from a beam in the room with a cord. The Bon sticks one finger of his left hand through the second ring on the drum and thus pulls the drum tight so that it does not swing back and forth. At the same time he also holds in his left hand a sounding plate. In his right hand he has drum sticks and the second sounding plate, so that through skillful handling he can beat both instruments at the same time.

bone flute, and Tibetan prayer texts. The prayer service takes place four times a day, namely, at sunrise, after the morning tea, at noon, and in the evening; the incense offering is made in the yard each time.

[848 cont.]

789 778 The litter: The litter looks like a death-box, in other words, it has the shape of a small temple with a movable door. Only it is almost entirely made of paper, even the sun-moon attachment on the ridge-piece. First a floor is made out of a soft clay plate. Into this plate, at the four corners, the Bon priest sticks poles about a meter long as columns, connects them with crosslaths, and thus makes a framework. This is covered by pasting paper on it. No particular color is required. The whole is set on two carrying poles so that it looks like a litter. [785] Then the men fumigate the litter with cypress incense. They do not use the red-hot stone. The work is not done on the kang, but on the floor.

789 778 791 532 The figures: First the Bon priest washes a clay vessel, fumigates it, puts tsamba and butter in it, and kneads them thoroughly. In all 81 figures are formed, nine kinds with nine pieces each. The kinds are: sheep, goat, hen, pig, dog, snake, frog, horse, and cattle. The Bon priests put these figures in the litter and fumigate everything together. -- The men of the household assist at the making of both the litter and the figures. [783] The Bon priests and men must wash and fumigate themselves beforehand each time; otherwise they may not give a hand. [782] The Bon priests accompany the work with prayers said by rote.

[782] The accompanying gifts: Since the figures are small, at most a handbreadth in size, there is still room in the litter for all kinds of accompanying gifts. These consist of Tibetan barley, white barley, wheat, beans, millet, and some small loaves of bread. To this are also added white and black sheep wool, white and black sugar, money, a raven's feather, some silver, and a sheet of paper on which the Bon priests have printed or drawn the images of the sickness-demons. Once everything has been placed inside, the door of the litter is [783] closed and sealed, and the litter is fumigated. Then it is put on the floor in front of the household altar. A three-cornered torma and a white horse's skull are in front of it (2). The skull

[848 cont.]

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2. [Foreign text p. 850.] Whether the horse's skull represents the riding animal of the spirit could not be determined.

is not fumigated. On its forehead the Bon priests paste an image of a demon. Sometimes another torma is also made.

789 [849] The removal: In the evening of the seventh day
[787] the Bon priests determine by means of their soothsaying books
[791] the precise direction in which the litter must be taken away.
[532] They themselves do not go along, but stay on the kang and give the conjuration prayer to the accompaniment of the drum, sounding plates, and bell. Four men take the litter in their hands, not on their shoulders, and carry it in the given direction to the river bank or to a road crossing outside the village. Other men follow with a coal basin, a large back-basket of straw, the horse's skull, and the torma.

When the procession arrives at the designated place, the straw is piled on the ground and the litter set on top of it in the specified direction; in the same direction, the horse's skull is put in front of the door, and the torma is put behind the litter. So that everything will burn well, the people pile around some more straw and set fire to the whole thing. Without waiting to see whether everything goes up in flames, they hurry home and no one may look back.

Interpretation: The demon is carried away in the litter. During the burning he is released and goes in the direction that is indicated by the position of the door. So that he will not be perplexed about the path to take, a crossroads or the river, which, of course, have a definite direction, is popularly chosen.
[782] The animals and accompanying offerings are gifts for the long
[171] migration (4). -- The neighboring agricultural Fandse also have this custom.

[755]

4. [Foreign text p. 850.] This ceremony is very similar to the figure-conjuration of the shamans

[849 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 850 cont.] and to the demon-escort. I could not ascertain from the notes whether the Bon priest touches the sick person with the figures and thus transfers the sickness to them, as is the case with the shamanistic figure-conjuration. Cf. the following chapter, Note 5.

Word List

192
784 Figure-litter: šergundi; made up of šẽ (Tib.) = demon, rẽgun = nine (Tib.); ndi (Tib. ?) = complete (3) (5).
[778]

3. [Foreign text p. 850.] This explanation by the informant is uncertain.

5. [Foreign text p. 850.] šergundi: Tibetan bse = demon, dgu = nine, k'ri (pronounced thi) = litter. Meaning: nine-demons' litter. -- šbawoǵ: Tibetan sbal (pronounced bal) = toad, frog; nag = black (Unkrig).

[791]
[778] Bon priest: xuãndzie (xuãndie).
Demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.).
[825] Sheep: xoni.
Goat: imã.
Hen: taǵu.
Pig: xge.
Dog: noǵue (noxue).
Snake: moǵue.
Frog: šbawoǵ (5) [see Note 5 above].
Horse: mori.
Cattle: ulã.

[849 cont.]
Raven's feather: kẽrie fõdẽ.
He has painted the demon on paper: tsialdzẽrẽ ilieni xuarladzia.
Horse's skull: mori tolg̃uẽ yãsẽ.
Little-bearer: ndi kurgẽdzin kun = men accompanying the whole (litter?) away.

[Pages 849-850 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[850]

4. The Figure-conjuration * (1)

* See "Notes," pp. 851-182 [of foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

1. [Foreign text p. 851.] I could not obtain any clarification concerning the actual name. It seems that the rdzõn̂ in rdzõn̂wa is the same as in dzõn̂rẽ. The ceremony is quite similar to the one with the figure-litter.

Report

In case of very severe illness one invites in a shaman who makes a series of figures, touches the sick person with them, and takes away the figures in the evening for burning.

Afterwards he buries a series of objects in order to hold down the sickness-demon. The compound remains taboo for all strangers during this time, three, five, seven, or nine days, depending upon the sickness involved.

[850 cont.]

Details

755 778 532 [171] [789]

The figures: Nine kinds of things are needed for the figure-conjuration. 1. Five little paper men (2). They are about 10 to 20 centimeters high and of the type of the Chinese paper figures that are burned at the burial. Only here they wear Tujen dress, which depends on whether male or female demons are involved. One can also simply cut them out of a piece of strong paper, but usually they are stuck together in the form of a figure with the help of stalks of grass. 2. Five little tsamba men. They are not colored, but retain the characteristic tsamba color. Also, they wear no clothing and are represented as sexless. 3. A pig made of tsamba. 4. A hen or a cock made of tsamba. 5. A dog made of tsamba. 6. A sheep made of tsamba. 7. A goat of tsamba. 8. A cow of tsamba. 9. A horse of tsamba. These figures [756] are made by shamans with the help of a skillful man, in a way similar to the figures of the figure-litter.

2. [Foreign text p. 851.] The Chinese, too, have these paper figures at their demon exorcisms; they call them wu-tao shen. Among them, however, it is not clear whether five or only one demon is involved. They are mentioned once in the shen-hsien t'ung-chien as wu-tao lei-shen, that is, five-way thunder-spirits, which punish human beings through wind, rain, water, fire, and epidemics.

755 782 Then they are put on a tray with the following accompanying gifts: a piece of raw pork, beef, or mutton, some pieces of cloth and threads in the five sacred colors for the five little men, and bread and money. The tray is set before the household altar, and a burning dough-lamp and a basin with cypress incense or a number of incense sticks are put in front of it.

[850 cont.]

755 The conjuration: As soon as it is dark the gurtum goes
756 into a trance in the usual fashion before the household altar.
[787] Then he rises, fights [851] the demons with his sword in the air, and goes to the sick person. The tray is brought after him. With his one free hand he takes one figure after another from the tray, touches the affected places on the patient with them while constantly swinging the sword and murmuring magic words, and puts them back on the tray (5).

[171]
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5. [Foreign text p. 852.] The custom of transferring sickness to animals or animal figures is also reported of Siberian shamans elsewhere. In this case, however, the similarity with the above-described Bon custom is to be noted. Originally actual animals might have been sacrificed. It was Buddhism that first combated these sacrifices and abolished them. Then substitute figures arose for them. H. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], pp. 176 and 263, writes in this connection: "...prohibits for the hated rivals the sacrifice of animals. In this connection the interesting fact is mentioned that the Bon-po were forced to make images of yaks and sheep out of grain mush, as well as wooden deer heads with wide horns, which henceforth had to serve as substitutes at the sacrificial ceremonies. The first-mentioned dough figures, made by means of wooden molds, are still found today, it is worthy of note, even in the rites of the Lamaists"; cf. loc. cit., where the literature is also cited.

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[851 cont.]

755 Then he storms out into the street, and the men follow
756 him with the things while he fights on with his sword. As soon as they are out of the village and reach a crossroads, they stop. A man piles a back-basket full of straw on the ground, and the things from the tray are thrown into it. Then the whole thing is set afire. They do not wait any longer, but quickly go home.

755 Burial of the magic objects: The shaman designates a
789 spot on the ground in front of the yard gate; the men immedi-
[787] ately dig a pit there. The shaman, still in a trance, puts nine
[756] kinds of things in it. First he puts a black food bowl on the floor of the pit; he puts red-hot coals in the food bowl, pours pure water over them, and puts in an iron knife, a small bow and arrow, a magic wooden dagger, a black chain (3), and a piece

[778]

3. [Foreign text pp. 851-852.] The magic dagger and the black chain are also used in connection with the pole-goat; cf. the appropriate section. No clarification could be obtained concerning the type of wood used for this dagger. The informant called it [852] siraldzin; he translated it with the Chinese huang-san (shan) tzu in the sense of yellow-mountain (wood). In the DMF there is the translation "armoise," Artemisia. This could not possibly be involved here. It must be a very hard kind of wood.

of iron from a town gate. He inverts a large earthen vessel over the whole (4); the men fill the pit and level it off so that one

4. [Foreign text p. 852.] The chain binds the demons, and the vessel caps them.

[851 cont.]

755 can no longer see where the things are buried.

789 Now all go into the house. The shaman awakes from his
787 trance.
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Word List

192 Figure-conjuration: rdzṏnwa (Tib. loanword) (1) [see Note 1 above], (5) [see Note 5 above], (6)
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6. [Foreign text p. 852] rdzṏnwa or dzṏnre: At the base of these two words lies the Tibetan stem rdsons = to take away (pronounced: dzon). siradzín: Mongolic sira modon = yellow-wood. It is an especially hard kind of wood, Phellodendron amurense (Unkrig).

778 Figures (little men): rdzṏnrë (Tib. loanword) (6) [see Note 6 above].
Raw meat: tõgõ maxa.
Black food-bowl: xara iga.
Black vessel: xara pëndzë.
Knife: tsidëguo.
Magic dagger: siral(dzin) (6) [see Note 6 above] mpuru = yellow-wood magic-dagger.
Chain: fsiasga.
Iron from the town gate: badzër-udie timur.

000 [Pages 851-852 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[852] 5. The Washing of the Sick*

* See "Notes," p. 854 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation the notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

[853 cont.]
in the hearth fire until the water boils and the cloth and barley are thoroughly boiled. He hands this decoction to the sick person who must drink it down immediately. With that the ceremony is ended.

[854] The shaman rests from his exertions, eats his supper, and goes home.

Word List

Washing the sick:	ġuãndzi (xuãndzie) fdzẽ ᵛsdani = the shaman boils water.
Sword-shaman:	sgurdien.
Knife:	tsidiġuo.
Lock:	tsũrġuo.
Red-hot stone:	sõdaṅ; ts'u-t'an (ch'ü-t'an) (Chin.).
Barley liquor:	miṅ-liu dẽrasẽ.
Flowers:	tsidziġ.
Prayer texts:	dzayaṅ (1).

1. dzayãṅ: Mongolic ǰayaġan (pronounced ǰayan) = fortune, fate, etc.; meaning: prayer of fate (Unkrig).

6. The House-purification *

* See "Notes," p. 855. [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If someone is seriously ill, then the shaman, with the men of the household, undertakes a house-purification. On this occasion the demon is conjured out of the house in a straw doll, dragged out of the village, and burned.

[854 cont.]

Details

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Things: Seven things are needed for the exorcism: 1. A torch. It consists of a stick wrapped with straw and soaked in oil. At least one torch is needed, but usually there are several. 2. A measure of small pebbles of any color. 3. An oil-pan. This is usually only a large iron spoon that is filled with oil and glowing coals to make a strong flame. 4. Bow and arrow. The arrow is wrapped with wadding at the tip; it is soaked in oil and lighted. 5. A hemp whip. It is usually very long, up to two meters. To make it, three tapering strands of hemp are plaited into a braid that is so thick at one end that it can just be held in the hand, whereas the other end tapers to a fine point so that it will crack well. 6. A live hen of any color or sex. 7. A straw man (3). It is very simple. One takes a long

[778]
[171]

3. [Foreign text 855.] The Chinese, too, often use these straw dolls, which they throw on the field or on crossroads, likewise without shamans. -- In the Tujen monastery of the Yellow Sect, Rgulõn, I once also saw Bon priests who had been invited by the monastery to undertake a demon-conjuration on the fifteenth day of each month. They also made a straw man and said that the Namśri was conjured into it by their prayers. On the last morning, before sunrise, they tied this straw doll to a manipole and hacked it to pieces with their knives.

smooth wisp of straw, bends it in the middle, ties off the upper third with pieces of straw so that a head is formed, and transversely through this third draws a smaller wisp which represents the arms. -- All these things are provided by the people themselves.

[854 cont.]

755 789 Exorcism: Towards evening, when darkness begins to fall, the shaman goes into a trance before the household altar (1).

[756] [787]

1. [Foreign text p. 855.] Before the exorcism the shaman divines, with barley on his protective mirror, which demon is involved.

During this time a man runs out of the village with the hen to a crossroads, twists or hacks off the hen's head, and with the fluttering [855] hen squirts the blood in all directions of the compass. [782] Then he throws away the hen as food for the demon and goes home. -- The straw man is put on the threshold of the main house or in the yard.

755 789 756 [787] [273] As soon as the shaman is in a trance, he jumps up and, running in wild leaps through all the rooms of the compound, performs the sword battle against the demon. The men follow him. Stones hail down on the ground. One circles around in the rooms with the torches. One man holds the oil-pan, takes mouthfuls of liquor, and blows it over the fire into the room, so that each time a red flash shoots out. Others crack the whip from room to room and shoot burning arrows at the floor. In this way the demon is driven into the straw doll. This is dragged by a hemp string or a straw rope out of the gate over the village street to the nearest crossroads, where the hen is lying. The shaman follows, fighting with his sword; stones, blows, fire-arrows, and flashes of fire rain down on the doll. It is left lying at the crossroads. The men pour the oil out of the pan over it, throw the torches, arrows, stones, etc. on it, and leave it smoldering (2).

2. [Foreign text p. 855.] This form of exorcism is the simplest of all. Usually all kinds of other ceremonies are connected with it. I once saw such a sword-shaman as he was trying to heal a child among the Chinese. He cast

[855 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 855 cont.] about himself with sword and lance, hacked the hen to pieces, hacked up a straw man, swung a winnowing shovel and a sieve, danced, and foamed at the mouth.

In this way the demon is conjured away. The shaman goes home and has his supper.

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Word List

755 House-purification: rdzõ̃ňwa (rẽdzõ̃ňwa).
789 The torch: huo-pa (Chin.).
[416] The stones: taše̊; sa-shih (Chin.).
Oil-basin: ġal-tuġuo; yu-kuo (Chin.).
Fire-arrow: ġal sẽmu; huo-chien (Chin.).
Fire-bow: ġal lẽmu; huo-kung (Chin.).
The hemp whip: uluosẽ yudier; ma-pien-tzu (Chin.).
The hen: taġū; huo-chi (Chin.), huo: here = to live.
[778] The straw man: šdagu kun; ts'ao-jen (Chin.).

[The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

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7. The Earth-god Urn *

* See "Notes," pp. 858-860 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

If misfortune prevails in the house, then sometimes the

[858 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] Quellen (pp. 160 ff.), no clarification can be obtained concerning the Sman: "We can only conclude from the places at which they are mentioned, that earth-spirits or local spirits are involved." -- G. Tucci, Tib. Painted Scrolls (pp. 720 ff.), regards the Sman as the feminine counterparts of the gods and explains the connection between medicine and femininity in the following manner: "sman means either medicine or women. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these sman were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed" [cited in English]. And further below: "... but nothing prevents us from understanding 'lha and their wives' ..." [cited in English]. -- Therefore in the case of the treasure urn we would be dealing with the klu and their feminine counterparts, the sman.

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The burying of the treasure urn is often equated by the Chinese with the burying of other vessels. These are two different things, however. Chinese and Tujen often put tea bowls, vessels, and the like, with the opening [860] downward, into the ground in order to exorcise and hold down the demons. This custom, however, originates from shamanistic practices, such as the Taoists also have. Thus the shamans there throw tea bowls in the air or on the ground so that the demons will be capped (this is done when the bowl falls with the opening down),

[858 cont.]

[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
for instance, at the erection of the weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

Earth-god: ġlu (glĕ).

Earth-god urn: sĕnoġ-der; sĕnoġ (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.

To buy an urn: sĕnoġ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.

Contents of the urn: rdzĕ (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.] Concerning rdzĕ, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[212 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering, slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, šeńlie, which corresponds to the Chinese hsien. Thus, they say, for instance, šdimie šeńlie-, to offer bread; tsidzig šeńlie-, to offer flowers; xonini šeńlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression šeńlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of additions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads. Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, implies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine, butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for instance, before the household altar, the obo, the mani-tree, the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and consumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs here, too.

[214 cont.]
782 mani padme hum," or when they turn to heaven with the old
788 saying, "Heaven knows." -- [215] They include these two types of prayer under the expression yandzila-, to implore, to request, and this is usually linked with the offering in order to express their attitude. The independent, pure prayer is quite rare.

The people are still not satisfied with this kind of prayer, however, but like to turn to the ritual, cultic prayer, for which
[463] there are the special professions of the priests: the Bon and the
[792] lamas and the Taoist monks. This is not to say that these are
[791] invited exclusively for the prayer, but how strongly the people connect praying with these professions is shown by the common designation that is used both among the Tujen and among the
[192] Chinese to differentiate them from the laity: nien-ching-ti jen, that is, praying person. This official praying is called luom mosë, to recite prayers, exactly as in the Chinese nien-ching. In the eyes of the people this is the classical, correct prayer, something rigidly formulated, recited according to definite rites, fixed by the sacred texts, like the sutra (luom) and the Chinese ching.

[463] Thus one can say that the offering primarily falls to the laity, but the praying to special professions.

4. Magic

789 I was unable to confirm hardly any true folk-magic.
756 There is a whole assortment of magic operations and the use of
[791] amulets, but in general the people fetch shamans, Taoist priests, Bon priests, and soothsayers for this. Since the main goal of magic is to ward off evil spirits, this task falls above all to the shamans, who, moreover, combat the demons with the help of their tutelary spirits. Thus, magic and shamanism are closely linked.

5. The Mixed Character of Tujen Religion

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174 The customs of the Tujen clearly show that we are not dealing with a simple form of belief, but with a multi-layered

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

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[241] [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
[755] conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sicknesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kürie-Banner. (Cf.

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791 779 is a purely popular one, and nothing about the inner relationship of these groups to one another is indicated by it; they are probably not essentially different. The farmer-Bon have become most superficial and degenerate. They still wear as their sole distinguishing mark only the artificial brush garland, in order thus to imitate the massive braided turban of the shepherd-Bon; they have practically died out. -- The most important cultic [765 534] implements of the Bon are taken from the human corpse: the double skull-drum covered with human skin, the whip plaited out of human skin (and probably with a bone handle), the thigh-bone flute, and the bone dagger. These implements are supposed to be taken from the corpse of an unmarried adult female person. By the special relationship to skeleton and corpse alone, [174] the Bon might acknowledge an ancient Tibetan home, which, to be sure, is not only called the "snow land," but also the "land of corpses."

[789] Even though the Bon have much in common with the lamas, there is a series of ceremonies reserved for them, especially the various types of demon exorcism. They are even invited into the monastery by the lamas on the first and fifteenth day of every month, where they undertake these rites. Nothing more about a former opposition between 178 791 779 Buddhism and the Bon religion is to be noted here. It shares with Lamaism the fate of gradual disappearance; indeed, in its official form it has already preceded it in this. It is a striking fact that both the Bon religion and Lamaism wane as Chinese agriculture expands, although precisely the sedentary life [254] of the lamas in the large monasteries and the performance of the weather conjuration of the Bon should be especially appropriate for an agricultural culture. The reasons are certainly not religious in nature.

174 791 779 The Tujen, however, have probably preserved much more of the Bon tradition than is recognizable at first glance. The marriage customs and the popular poetry probably contain a great deal that would make this ancient layer clear and permit it to be followed deep into Tibet. It is difficult, however, to free everything from the Lamaistic embellishments.

The support and protection of the Mongols and of the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717–1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

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KUMBUM [61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

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[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

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It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

[P·25(A)]

of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403–24), granted us extensive properties—and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huang-chung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which

are supposed to be the favorite abodes of evil spirits. The Red lamas go to these springs in order to meet these demons, to frighten them, to combat them, or to obtain their assistance. So goes the saying of the Monguors and the lamas of both sects.

The rite is a back-breaking work. It lasts for 129 days, more than four months. It is practiced by a single lama, never in a group. Usually a fervent Monguor accompanies the lama for some days, to carry his luggage and prepare his tea. I got the information from two such men and from people living in Waza, near a spring where the lama performed his rite.

Sometimes the lama has to wander a long way to reach a spring, and sometimes three or four springs are situated one next to the other. The rite is carried out in winter and starts with a retreat of seven days at home, during which the lama, three times during the day and three times during the night, prays and reads texts, rattling the drum made of two human skulls, blowing the trumpet made from a human femur, and ringing the bell. He is not allowed to get a long sleep or to stretch himself out on the ground. He has to sleep in a sitting position, is not allowed to undress during the 129 days, or to enter any home or cave.

I saw a Red lama who lived near the monastery of Hua-yen start his journey. All the neighbors, men, women, and children, accompanied him to the first spring. He carried on his back, in a light wooden frame of thin laths, the felt mat on which he would sleep at night, a book of texts, a picture of Padma sambhava, the chief saint of the sect, some flour, butter, tea, a cauldron, and a small tent made of white cotton cloth. If, on the way, he should happen to lose one of these items, he is not allowed to replace it. He wore a long red coat, lined with sheepskin; on his head a red hat and over his eyes a green shade, with fringes. In his right hand he held the double-skull drum, and in the left hand the trumpet. He is not allowed to speak during his wandering from one spring to another, but mutters prayers all the way along, beating the drum at the same time.

Upon reaching the first spring he puts the frame down, blows three times on the trumpet in the direction of heaven, then starts the ritual dance three times around the spring to the time of the rattling drum, describing ritual designs on the ground. He beats the ground with his heel to the time of the drum beats, then stands on one leg, completely immobile, for a long time. Thereafter he pitches the tent, displays the picture, and sits crosslegged in front of the tent reciting texts for a long time. In the meantime, the villagers had prepared tea, and he starts talking with them. People are not allowed to indicate the spot of the next spring or to ask in what direction he will move the next day. He eats the meal offered by them. He is not allowed to drink alcoholic beverages, eat garlic, leeks, or radishes. He eats only mutton. The remains of the meal offered to him are not allowed to be

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

carried home. Before sunset his meal has to be finished and the people gone. At this first spring he stays for seven days.

Twice a day he prepares tea and eats *tsamba* along the wayside. When people see a practicer of the rite passing near the village, they all follow him, prepare his tea and his evening meal. He enjoys the real veneration of all the Monguors and the Tibetans. He remains for seven days at the first spring, praying, dancing, three times during the day and three times during the night. It is said that during the night, the time of the demons, he summons all the demons of the country, wages his ritual war with them, subduing them, or making friends of them. At night he has a terrible time, exercising his magical abilities and increasing his magical capacities. The demons do not let him sleep a wink. All kinds of terrifying tales are spread in the country about his nightly experiences.[2]

At dawn he gathers stones and builds a small cairn; then he starts for the next springs, remaining only one day at each of them and performing the same rites. At the 54th spring he stays for seven days, as at the first one, then continues his pilgrimage until the 108th, where he again enacts seven-day rites. Then all the Red lamas of the country, the people of his village, the chiefs and elders of the neighboring villages come to meet him and lead him home in order to perform the final rite, which simulates the incineration of corpses and includes a recitation of texts together with all the lamas. Sitting on a throne in front of the ritual oven in which wood is burning, he pours boiling butter on the wood, acting like an officiant at a real incineration. After this rite he is heartily congratulated and receives some gifts: sheep, butter, tea, sugar, raisins. I never obtained an explanation of this last rite, or of its connection with the pilgrimage of the 108 springs.

Springs of water play an important part in the religious life of lamas and of the Monguors. It is not unusual to see lamas of the Yellow Sect, even Living Buddhas, sitting for hours in silence at the edge of a spring, slowly beating its surface with a flat broad lath. It is said that this practice produces happiness and peace of mind.

On the fifth of the fifth month the Monguors honor the spirit of the well from which they draw water. They make a *Wei-sang*[3] near the well, plant a stick to the top of which is affixed a bouquet, and prostrate themselves. The whole family wash their hands and faces with the water in the first bucket drawn, and rinse their mouths. Tea is prepared and all of them drink several cups, for it is said that this tea prevents all kind of diseases. At the same time they bury an urn near the well, thanking the spirit of the earth where

[2] David-Neel, *op. cit.*, 126: also Mircea Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase*, 384, Paris, Payot, 1951.

[3] See Chap. VIII, note 2, p. 95.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the well bubbles, for providing them with water during the whole year.

HERMITS

In the region of Hsining there lived, around 1880–1895, only two hermits. One lived in the region of Waza in a cave in the mountains, and the other in the mountains around Hsien-mi. Both were strangers, who never divulged their names, or country of origin. They were not attached to any monastery and had no relations with the neighboring people. Each had a donkey which he used when he went to collect some flour and tea, for which they graciously thanked the donors and then returned to their caves. If some gifts were offered to them, they brought them to the monasteries and prostrated themselves before the closed doors of the temples for a whole day, and then returned to their caves without having said a single word to the lamas. The people said that they heard them reciting texts, ringing bells and beating drums the whole day long. Twice a day they built a fire and prepared their meals. They did not visit the people and did not like to have the people visit them; they refused all invitations to say prayers at the homes of the Monguors. During the terrible epizootics which decimated the cattle all over the country (1890–1893), they refused requests to pray for peace in the country. Their mysterious behavior intrigued the people, who could not get in touch with them. Then they disappeared, and nothing more was heard about them. They were not the kind of miracle workers so often described in records of travelers.

Monguors, talking about them, affirmed that in former times many lamas lived a sheltered life in caves, and possessed the art of working miracles.

In 1723, at the time of the revolt of the lamas and the destruction of the monastery of Seerkok where 2,000 lamas lived, it is said that the General Nien Keng-yao destroyed more than 1,000 caves in that country.[4] Because lamas in former times received the same education as at present, and were as eager for wealth and worldly glory as those of today, one is inclined to doubt such a fantastic number of hermits. I am inclined to think that genuine hermits did not grow on every bush, and that all these wonders and miracles did not occur at every street corner.

VI. SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is not an investigation of the origin of shamanism or its philosophy and religious fundamentals. Rather it aims to be a description of the type of the Monguor shaman, his training in 1911–1921, the spirits

[4] Han, Ju-lin, *Pien-cheng kung-lün*, 3 (I) : 47. The text does not say that recluses lived in them.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

question of whether a substantial principle underlies the soul or not, or whether *nirvana* could be a state of happiness without there being consciousness of it. They do not care for the philosophers who discuss the existence or the inexistence of this world, of their own being, and even of Buddha himself. They only approach Lamaism from the moral and the practical angles. They endeavor to practice the rites of Lamaism, to heap up merit as prescribed by Lamaism in order to be reborn after this life, which they greatly enjoy, in a paradise of felicity where Buddha, as benevolence incarnate, will make them more and more happy every day, for the duration of time. However, this seems to be only one side of the religious frame of mind of the Lamaist Monguors and Tibetans. The other side seems rooted in the practicality, so often found among uncivilized peoples, which, in order to make more sure of attainment of the religious goal, to enjoy more blessings in this life, and avoid calamities and miseries, leads them to practice shamanist rites and rites belonging to other religions at the same time. This seems to be the complicated frame of mind of the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung who are deeply religious.

Since the objective of this study is the explanation of the religious frame of mind of the Monguors, there will be noted along with the rites the questions ingenuously asked by the children in the schools concerning the topics, the considerations and impressions occasionally expressed by men and women, the dialogues of shamans with the spirits denoting the hopes and the fears of the attendants and their beliefs. All these minute details will help to raise the curtain which shrouds the religious mind.

THE WORLD OF RELIGION AND FEAR IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVE

The sense of religiosity is planted in the hearts of the Monguors in early life, in the family circle. Its main feature seems to be fear, rather than love. The children every day see their mothers performing a lot of religious practices in order to avoid the displeasure or punishments of innumerable malignant spirits which beset them everywhere. Their mother's warnings are dinned into their ears, not to do this, not to do that, for fear of being unhappy, because the spirits are very touchy, and a trifle can upset them. In this way the dread and terror of malevolent spirits cut deep furrows in their hearts, and when a hailstorm is about to destroy the crops, the oil lamps on the house altar will be lit in a hurry and the children will fall on their knees invoking Heaven and all the spirits and praying Om Mani, for as long as the threat lasts. They imitate their elders who implore, on bended knees, and urge the gods with piteous pleas, saying innumerable Om Manis and "Heaven and all the spirits" for the protection of their crops. Children cannot forget to their dying day the

[p.95(A)]

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IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle.

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine.

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits.

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms.

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

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the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic; the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement

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attended by the whole community. Then he sits on his low table, in theatrical military attitude, shaking his head and ringing his bells. At the moment his spirit possesses him, the cypress fire is increased. The whole attendance, kneeling, worships the spirit dwelling in him with incense sticks in their hands and prostrations. The chief of the village, on bended knees, asks humbly first of all, for protection against hail in the summer and for a prophecy concerning the peaceful reaping of the harvest. Then the spirit, by means of the Kurtain, promises a peaceful summer, or specifies what kind of rites have to be performed to achieve the benefit of peace.

In villages where there is no Kurtain, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family, orders the statue to be carried in the sedan chair into the temple yard, while the whole audience kneels with incense sticks in their hands; the cypress fire is lit. The chief, kneeling, asks the spirit about the hail scourge. If the sedan chair becomes so heavy as to crush down the carriers, the prognostication seems awful, and the chief proposes to perform such or such a rite; if the sedan chair continues crushing the carriers, a propitiatory sacrifice is promised, the attendance craves for pardon, and the sedan chair is carried into the temple.

In the first days of the New Year, all over the country, the talk runs only on the predictions proferred in neighboring villages about hailstorms. In every family horoscopes are cast several times. It is a real obsession all over the country and nobody seems to be entirely assured, despite the reassuring answers of the spirits, for so many times the hopes have been illusory. Unfavorable predictions seldom mar the spirit of the festivities of the New Year. After New Year's the busy agricultural season begins with the carrying of fertilizer, plowing, and sowing. The fields turn greener and greener every day, and at the beginning of the fourth moon (May), immediately after the spring rites, performed in order to implore good crops, the preparations for the rites against hail are begun.

A month from now, all over the country, on mountains, or on hills, or on hillocks and knolls in the valleys there will be seen here a stretched goat skin, its legs spread out and pierced with daggers, the head erect with a dagger between the horns, impaled on a pole. There, a rudimentary manikin, its outstretched arms made with boughs, holding a bow and an arrow; next to the manikin a wooden hammer and raven all stuck on poles. These are the places where rites have been performed against hail, and inside some of the mounds dwells the spirit protector against hail, the celebrated White Tiger. Every Monguor village and nearly every Chinese village in the country have many such hills. The outlook for the country has become depressing for the Monguors. [p.97(B)]

RITE OF THE WHITE TIGER

The most important rite against hail is the one called the Rite of the White Tiger, performed by the shaman. Once in a while a Taoist priest and even a Red lama try to enact it. However, the following year a shaman is invited again by the distrustful villagers, for the rite belongs to the black magical art and is more in keeping with the attributions of the shaman.

It is performed in May, before the time of the hailstorms. The original and complete rite is not enacted every year, but certainly it will never be omitted the year after the crops have been destroyed. If a year passes peacefully, then the following year only a supplementary rite will be enacted, strengthening the original one. If for many years the crops have been preserved, the original rite will nevertheless be performed again, for fear the original magical power may have faded.

It will be noted that the shaman deposited, in the temple under the bushel, the bottle he used for capturing a human soul with which he nurtured the spirits. The seventh day after the performance of the spring rites, the chief of the village and the elders go to the temple to take the bottle and bushel away, and they ring the temple bell. A member of each family arrives carrying incense sticks; the sedan chair, with the statue inside, is moved into the middle of the courtyard of the temple. All those present, holding incense sticks, kneel before the sedan chair, and the chief of the village asks the god whether it is certain the crops will be reaped peacefully, and whether the hail will be certain not to play havoc. Despite the formal promises of the shaman seven days ago, suspicions are still harbored. Then according to the ceremony already noted (the sedan chair crushing the carriers, etc.) and according to the pointers given by the spirit, the chief of the village decides to invite the shaman.

The shaman and three or four of his confreres examine the country and fix the place where the rite is to be performed. It is always within the boundaries of the village, on a hill or hillock, usually at the northwest corner, because hailstorms usually come from that direction. An auspicious day is chosen for the performance, and a list of all the required items for the rite is given by the shamans to the chief of the village. Here is what the list transmitted to the chief of the village of Toolong by the shaman contained: 20 black bowls; 15 wooden stakes, 2 feet in length; 15 tiles, 15 bricks, 15 eggs; 15 wooden planks, two feet long and 2 inches thick; 5 small hand mills. 5 axles and a cart wheel; an iron chain, which had been used to tie a dog, and a lock; 5 bell neckstraps with bells which had been used on horses; a mill stone, the corpse of a boy or baby, a living white dog and a white cock, water drawn from 10 different wells, 5 lions made of glazed pottery, used to adorn roofs; 6 earthen jars, among them 2 of bigger size, and a kettle; a pivot of a millstone, a pivot of threshing rolls, 2 threshing rolls, a plowshare, a harrow,

some iron taken from 4 city gates, some earth gathered on four city walls, earth collected on 5 different mountains, some earth taken in the prison of the city, 12 kinds of medicines; a small wooden white tiger, his rider painted black; 2 Buddha images, 2 mantles worn by statues in temples, bones of a dog, 2 skulls of a wolf and of a fox, a human skeleton, a pair of filthy trousers of a young woman, a living cat, a snake and a wooden raven. (Is it possible to imagine a more heterogeneous collection of items?)

On all these items are painted cabalistic designs, which are encircled with vermilion and painted with a brush dipped in the mixed blood of a white dog, cat, and cock.[1] All the items, in order to be effective, are to be stolen from other villages. Young folk are designated by the chief of the village to steal the required items, and if they do not succeed in the job, they have to buy the objects with their own money. If such thieves are accused at the court of the T'u-ssu, the community has to indemnify the defendant. At the times when these rites are performed, everybody in the country watches at night. All the stolen items are locked up in the temple and guarded at night by elder people, whose sleep is not so sound as that of young men. Deep secrecy is kept about the required items.

On the evening of the day fixed, the shamans arrive, clothed in the black gown; the chief of the shamans alone wears the flowery coat. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail. After sunset the villagers arrive and the temple is closed tightly. A hog and a sheep are offered, while the attendants prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks, and the shamans dance and beat drums. In the deepest silence, they go to the place prepared for the rite, holding banners. All the heterogeneous items required are loaded into a cart. A hole fifteen feet in depth has been dug beforehand. Its upper part is shaped in a circle, the middle part is square, and the lowest part triangular.

The chief of the shamans descends into the pit alone. His whole body is enveloped in red cloth; he wears a cincture made of hemp, such as the people wear at funerals. Holding in his hands the whip and the ritual knife, he takes off his shoes and hose and puts on shoes made from hemp ropes. His pigtail is unplaited, and his hair disheveled. Some youngsters, their heads enveloped in a red cloth, descend with him into the pit. They communicate by signs and tokens, for it is forbidden to utter a single word inside the pit. The shamans beat the drums outside the pit.

In the center of the triangle one of the biggest jars is deposited, inside of which are put the corpse of the baby or boy, and the different sorts of earth. All items are covered with a piece of red cloth and the kettle is inverted over them. The chain is wrapped around the jar and fastened with the lock. The pair of trousers,

[1] Johann Frick, How blood is used in magic and medicine in Ch'inghai Province, *Anthropos* 46 (5–6): 954, 1951.

[p.98(B)]

the skeleton, bones and skulls are deposited around the jar, with the living snake enclosed in a basket. The triangle is filled with earth, level with the base of the square. Then five stakes are fixed in the earth, and bowls, eggs, bricks, tiles, lions and hand mills are put around them. In the midst are erected the threshing rolls, on which is put the millstone, in the center of which is fixed a stake to support the cart wheel, to which the planks are nailed; the interspaces are filled with the remaining items. The whole is covered with boughs, and the pit is filled with earth level with the ground.

The attendants start howling like madmen, jumping and leaping around the pit in the pitch dark night, brandishing banners, while shamans dance, and beat drums and cymbals. The cart axle, sharpened to a stake, is fixed in the earth upon the pit; on it is written "Throne of the White Tiger." Some bowls placed upside down and bricks and tiles are put around the stake and the tiger; four more stakes are fixed in the ground according to the four points of the compass, and a mound is erected upon the pit. Next to the mound is placed a big wooden box containing the living white dog; a small mound is erected upon it so that the dog may see the light and breathe air through a hole. The dog will live for some days; it will howl and finally die.[2] On the other side of the big mound is erected a similar small mound, opposite the dog's mound, in which is

[2] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 271, note 166, note that both the Liao (Khitan) and the Chin (Jurchen) sacrificed dogs. M. Granet, *Danses et légendes*, 527, records that in ancient China men used to pull the ears of a dog to make him bark, in order to drive away the bird-demon. W. Koppers, Der Hund in der Mythologie der Zirkumpazifischen Völker, *Wiener Beiträge*, 386, 1930, records that the Yao tribe buried a live dog, together with a live thief, in order that the spirit of the thief should stay in the grave; also 378, the cow used at the sacrifice for the dog ancestor of the Yao had to be stolen, in the same way that the Monguors have to steal the dog for the hail rite, and other items.

Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 92, a similar case of burying a dog alive is noted: "In case of some very bad disease the Manchus sometimes bury a live dog and cat near the entrance of the house. The dog and cat may move, which may be seen a certain time after the burial when the earth is reopened; it is considered as a very bad sign if they should go away together." He further notes, p. 92, that souls of dead people are supposed to eat dog meat; p. 210, that dogs carry the souls in the lower world; p. 179, that dog blood, like dog skins, make the clan spirits run away; dog meat is tabooed. Doolittle, *op. cit.*, 231, notes in China a heavenly dog who devours small children and is combated by a giant, represented surrounded by children shooting arrows against a dog walking on the clouds. The barking of a dog at night frightens the evil spirits. De Harlez, *op. cit.*, 464, records that the crowing of the rooster frightens the spirits at night and in the morning. A wooden rooster is put above the entrance of the courtyard to frighten the evil spirits. A living rooster is attached to the coffin when it is carried to the grave, in order that it may frighten evil spirits. In time of epidemics a white living rooster is carried, fixed on top of a stick, in the processions. See also Eliade, *op. cit.*, 405; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, *op. cit.* 1: 29, 38; the same, *Randvölker Chinas*, *op. cit.*, 38.

entombed the living cock in a box. It will live and die under the same circumstances as the dog. 756 796

I was told by several reliable old men that years ago an old Chinese begger instead of a dog had been buried alive, and that once in a while a little child, stolen in a far-off village, is still buried if, for three or more years in succession, hail has struck the village. The shaman in such cases requires it. Mothers told me that the elders always enjoin them to watch the small children with special care during the time these rites are performed. 782 789

When the rite is completed all the participants face the northwest, the direction from which the hailstorms usually come, and throw stones at the evil spirits, howling like madmen, uttering the most obscene threats, and taking the wildest aggressive attitudes, while the shamans crack their whips and dance a threatening dance, conjuring the evil spirit in wild gyrations. The wild act is performed three times. On the spot a big fire is lit with cypress boughs, and all the attendants, shamans included, jump over it in order that the evil spirits may no longer follow them, and in order to get purified. After a last dance in the temple yard, the whole audience enjoy themselves, making fun, eating the pork and mutton, and drinking plenty of wine.

During the whole month, day and night, corvées are imposed by the chief of the village on different shifts of four young men, relieving one another, in order to watch the mound. A small cabin is built for the watchers. Nobody is allowed to approach the mound during the whole month.

This rite gives an insight into the power wielded by the shamans and their controlling influence upon the people, who even resort to human sacrifices, when required by them. The secret about these facts is strictly kept, men are enjoined not to talk about it with women and children, and only after years, and in general terms, do the facts incidentally leak out. Among the Twelve Tengris is the famous White Tiger, the dread and terror of evil spirits, and for that reason the rite is called the Rite of the White Tiger.

THE RITES OF THE TAOISTS AGAINST HAIL

The Taoists are mostly invited to perform their rite in neighboring villages inhabited by Chinese. Once in a while they are invited by Monguors who recanted their origin, but often, when the hail has struck these villages, the more efficient Monguor shaman with a greater reputation is invited the following year to try his rites, even by Chinese. 782 789

The Taoists use three kinds of rites: the rite of the spirit Wang-lin-kuan, of the goddess Niang-Niang, and of the five thunderbolts (wu-tien-cheng). Here, also, is a mystifying thing. Although the Taoists in the country do not overtly honor the White Tiger, they always write the name of the White Tiger on the stake

[p. 99 (B)]

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buried in the mound, before the name of the spirits whom they officially use for combating hail.

Is it far fetched to suppose that the Taoists do this because it is universally recognized that the rite of the shamans, using the White Tiger, outranks their own, and that in order to succeed they must act in this way?[3]

A stunning fact also is that the Taoists, and lamas of the Red Sect in the country, when performing that kind of rite are very fond of using nearly the same group of disparate items to be buried in the pit, except for the white living dog and cock. Can the sacrifice of two living beings be too basically shamanist to be performed by pure Taoists?

STRENGTHENING OF THE OLD MOUNDS

In keeping with the basic principle of shamanism, the spirits after some time lose their powers and are subject to decay. Consequently, they have to be nurtured and strengthened in order that they may continue to help their followers effectively. The rite performed against hail, the pit with all its disparate items, and the famous rider and the White Tiger buried inside it are liable to lose their protectiveness, so every year more power has to be added to the mounds. In every village old mounds exist, built by the ancestors. According to the indication of the guardian spirit of the village, the building of a new mound is ordered from time to time because the last one has lost its power. However, the villagers believe that some effect can still be obtained from the old mounds, and in order not to lose that benefit, they strengthen every year the efficacy of all the old mounds built inside the boundaries of the village. The shaman is invited by the Monguors to do the job; the Taoist priest is invited in the Chinese villages, but seldom in Monguor villages. Both shaman and Taoist act in the same way. Small paper banners are prepared and wooden hammers and ravens, and also stakes with cabalistic designs and the inscription, "The Throne of the White Tiger god," and manikins made with boughs, holding bow and arrows. All these items are smoked by the shaman, over burning cypress boughs, before they are used. The rite takes a whole day.

A sheep is offered in the temple; water is poured in its ear to be sure the spirit agrees to the victim. The sheep is killed and offered, a dance and the beating of a drum is performed by the shaman. A "throne" (stake) is thrust in the ground in front of the temple

[3] F. W. Grootaers, in his very interesting monograph (*op. cit.*, 238), notes two inscriptions encountered on the frescoes of the temples of the god of the five roads in Wan-Ch'üan (Kalgan) "Holding bound the wolf and the tiger" and also, "Mountain general who holds bound the wolf and the tiger, *Wu-tao* god who catches the monsters" and he notes these inscriptions are, of course, not the products of the local imagination, but are copies by the local calligraphers from a popular anthology of "Inscriptions for all occasions." These calligraphers knew the history of the Twelve Tengris, among which is the White Tiger. But the wolf is unexplained.

[p. 100 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

gate (throne of the White Tiger god) and a black bowl is put on the roof of the gate. 782 796

The parade starts on the left side of the village (shamans start on the left side and lamas on the right side), with banners at the head, and the horn (ox horn) is blown. On every mound the same rites are performed: a dance, a throne (stake) thrust into the mound, two black bowls buried near the throne, some paper banners planted, one hammer and one raven fixed on a stick, and the manikin, with bow and arrow pointing to the northwest. Some earth is added to the mound, which is put in good shape. The parade turns three times around the mound; on the third turn the whole group faces the northwest and howls three times, and then they start toward the next one.

When they return to the temple the shaman starts his dance, while the audience kneels and makes prostrations. Then the offered sheep is divided into as many parts as there are families in the village, and each receives a part. The tail and a hind leg are given to the shaman. On the most important mound, a plank is erected (it has to be stolen to be effective), on which a sealed statement is pasted, forbidding the pasturing of animals in the crops during three months and fixing fines for a horse, cow, or sheep caught straying in the crops. Pasturing of animals and chopping of fuel on the sacred mountain of the village are forbidden as is the felling of trees for three months and the singing of obscene songs in the village. The spirits must not be disturbed or offended, and liberty is not allowed to be taken with the conventional morals. The fines consist of a fixed amount of oil, incense sticks, paper, or cash, to be devoted to the upkeep of the temple.

MORE PRECAUTIONS AGAINST HAIL

LAMAS INVITED TO RECITE TEXTS

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Despite the promises of the shamans on the feast of spring, the performance of shamanistic rites on a new hill, and the strengthening of the old hills by means of adding magical power to them, in the fourth month the chiefs of the villages invite two or more lamas to recite texts for a couple of days, on top of the highest mountain situated inside the village land. Maybe Buddha might lend a helping hand also, and in order to assume his protection they organize a procession with the 108 sacred books of the *Kanjur*.

PROCESSION WITH THE SACRED BOOKS

A chief is appointed for the performance of the rite. He goes, with 108 men of the village, to the lamasery to borrow the books. The village defrays the expenses of a collation of butter tea with *tsamba* for the lamas, and a fixed amount of butter to be burned in the lamps before the Buddha statues in the temple. The next morning the procession starts from the village temple with at least one member from each family. The ritual

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cypress offering, Wei-sang, is first performed in the temple. A shaman, or lama of the Red Sect, summons into his staff the spirits who predict the success and the opportuneness of the rite. He steps to the head of the procession with the spirit-laden staff, followed by a group of horn blowers and banner and drum bearers. Then come the statue of the temple, enthroned in the sedan chair, the table and stake gods, and the 108 bearers of the heavy books, one after another, while the music plays, and Om Mani prayers are devoutly recited the whole way. The procession tours around the limits of the extensive village lands, making stops on the highest mountains or most elevated spots, where the ritual cypress burning is done and where the whole group walks three times around the spot. When they return to the temple the ritual cypress offering closes the ceremony. The procession usually lasts for a whole day. The next day the books are returned to the monastery.

The procession involves the whole male population of the village. The bearing of Buddhist books is said to be very effective, as are the praying of Om Mani, the offering of tea to the lamas and of butter for the lamps, and the shamanist spirit-laden staff, the table and stake gods, and all the other Taoist statues of the temple which tour the village at the same time. All available heterogenous forces contribute to the success of this specifically Buddhist rite. Usually this procession with the books is performed every other year; in the intervening year it is performed without the books.[4]

THE GOAT SKIN RITE

After such displays of all kinds of religious rites, however, the Monguors, still unassured, perform the celebrated goat skin rite enacted by a shaman or a lama of the Red Sect, who is proficient in subduing the hail spirits in a direct way by magical power. The rite is enacted on the highest mountain of the village—not on the sacred mountain. A big fire of cypress branches is kindled, which lasts during the entire time of the performance of the rite. The lama makes a big *torma*[5] and four smaller ones; then with *tsamba* and butter he kneads various crude figures of animals living in the water, birds of the air and of animals living on the earth.[6] Small pieces of meat are also prepared. The lama or shaman recites his awful incantations and ritual

[4] Schröder, *op. cit.*, Der Flur Umzug, *Anthropos* 47: 835, 1952. More details are available in this valuable study.

[5] *Torma:* a small pyramidal cake, round or triangular, made with *tsamba* and butter; often pieces of butter or gold or silver paper are fixed upon it. It seems to represent an evil spirit on which incantations and ritual curses are proferred, on which all kind of inauspicious and calamitous items, sins and spiritual impurities are supposed to be loaded. It is thrown far away after the ceremony, often with a display of hatred and contempt, and with it calamities seem to be removed. (See more in Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling*, *op. cit.*, chap. XIV.)

[6] According to Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 138, the dough figures represent the spirits of the upper, middle, and underworld honored in the old Bon religion. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

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curses upon the *tormas*, which will be thrown to the evil spirits—the big *torma* in the direction of the northwest, and the small ones in the direction of the four points of the compass. In the meantime the goat is killed and skinned, the head and hoofs being left attached to the skin which is then stretched and fixed on a post. Magical daggers are attached to the feet and head. The goat in threatening attitude faces the northwest, where the hail spirits are supposed to dwell, and challenges them. Then horns are blown and *tormas* thrown and the goat will protect the crops against hail during the whole summer.[7] The Monguors assert that in former times they did not use the goat for this purpose, but the horse, and that a horse skin was fixed on the post.[8]

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RITE ON THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN OF THE VILLAGE

Since the village is still uncertain and disturbed after all these resources have been exhausted, it is customary that on an auspicious day, without the attendance of representatives of any religion, the chief of the village, with the elders and a member of each family of the village, go to the top of the highest mountain of the village. They go with banners, drums, cymbals, horn, in front, and carrying the god or goddess of the temple in the sedan chair, in order to implore, under the vast dome of the blue sky, the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits." In a primitive oven, built with superimposed stones, a bushel of cypress leaves, pounded and passed through a sieve, are burned with some butter and roasted spelt, colza, linseed, and wheat (the kinds of grain planted by the Monguors), and some water is sprinkled over it; 108 butter lamps made with dough are lit and prostrations are made nine times. The customary cry is howled to all the spirits, notifying them of the act of adoration for them all, and the god or goddess sitting in the sedan chair seems to implore "Heaven and all the spirits" with the villagers together. Finally, prostrations are given to the god or goddess in the chair, and

[7] According to Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 215, among the reindeer Tungus of Transbaikalia on the grave, "a reindeer is killed, its skin is left together with the antlers and hoofs, fastened upon a bar horizontally fixed to two trees and left hanging there. This is the reindeer which will be used by the spirit (soul) of the deceased for going to the lower world. If there is no reindeer they use a horse and its skin in the same function and manner."

Owen Lattimore, The Gold tribe "Fishkin Tatars," *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* 40: 57 and 379, 1933, notes that the Gold tribe, "Fishkin Tatars," use "two slender stakes or wands, on the top of which are impaled two wooden beast figures, with four legs and tail. The legs are made by sticks thrust through the body and protruding at both sides. They looked to be otters, perhaps weasels, or sables . . . There are two wands, one much more short and slender than the other, each impaling a Keku (cuckoo or wood-pigeon) . . . these divinities keep guard over the whole house and courtyard."

[8] See Schröder, *op. cit.*, *Die Pfahlziege*, 825, where a philosophical explanation of the rite is provided. For the horse sacrifice among the Buryat Mongols, see Jeremiah Curtin, *A journey in southern Siberia*, 44 *sqq.*, Boston, Little, Brown, 1909.

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the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven 789
and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops.

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, [771]
the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion.

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages 175
situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess 177
in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!" [9]

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty [772]
strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan 776
ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of 782
their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires [784] that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain [771] during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a

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small rapids), 30 *li* east of Hsining, causing the region of Hsining, which was a large lake in former times, to dry up. He is said to have been a beautiful man, with strong classical features, taller than the men of today, and endowed with fabulous strength. He played with huge rocks as children play with marbles, and was very fond of two enormous dogs which he tied to the rocks of Hsiao hsia with chains so heavy that only he could move them. He is represented in the temple as a man of gigantic proportions, sitting on a large throne wearing yellow robes and cap, and the insignia of an official.

Father Grootaers [11] encountered this god in sixteen Erh-lang temples in Wan-Ch'üan, and notes that Erh-lang, son of Li Ping of the Han dynasty (A.D. 25–220) was famous for his works on dikes in Ssu-ch'uan Province, and became an object of the cult. However, he notes that another Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien of the Sung dynasty (beginning of the twelfth century A.D.) is also renowned for the same kind of work, and is represented with a dog at his feet. This detail, encountered in the temples of Wan ch'üan, enabled Father Grootaers, because of an inscription found on a fresco in the grottoes of P'u-fo ssu, to assume that the Erh-lang of Wan ch'üan must be the son of Yang Chien, object of a cult in Hopei Province. It seems possible that, on account of the popular tradition, the Erh-lang of Hsining with his enormous two dogs and heavy chains must also be Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien. However, how Erh-lang became the object of a cult in Hsining, and at what time, are facts shrouded in mystery. Anyway, Erh-lang, the beautiful god, is said to enjoy the annual visits of the fine goddesses of Sha t'ang Valley and to extend his protection from hail and blessings upon the crops in thanks for their gracious call.

The observance by the young people of twenty-one days of continence and the restraint from indulgence in wine and garlic and onions, the sending of the goddesses for a call on a god, and the custom of locking them up for a night in the temple in order to court the sympathy of the god and to reap the benefit of his protection, open up some chinks, letting in some light into the disturbed religious frame of mind of the people. Significant also is the extent of the fear of hail which makes them resort to all available means in order to get help and assistance against it.

OLD CUSTOM RECALLED

Old Monguors always recall that in former times, when the shamans were still proficient in their art, it was said they never failed to combat the hail. They threw stones stained with blood of white dogs in the direction of the hail spirits, shot with bloody arrows and moved stuffed horse skins. But now the shamans

[11] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 262–263. See *Folklore Studies Supplement No. 1:* 229, 1952, Erh-lang, son of Yang Chien is said to have buried two of the nine suns in the region of Kui-te (south of Hsining), and the hot wells existing in the region are thus explained. See Eberhard, *op. cit., Lokalkulturen, Fuchs* 1: 40.

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no longer have the stuff of shamans, and the belief of the young folk in the gods is waning and fading away. 789 756

OFFER OF BONES TO THE SPIRITS OF HAIL

On the last night of the year, a group of youngsters is called by the chief of the village and ordered to gather sackfuls of bones and to carry them to the mountain top, from where devasting hailstorms usually come destroying the crops in summer. They are ordered to burn the bones to the "spirits of the hail" in order to thank them for their protection during the year and to beg them to extend their protection for the next year. Around New Year's, every family kills sheep or pigs, and bones are available everywhere. All kinds of bones are satisfactory, provided a full sack is secured. It is known that in the arctic culture the peculiar offer to heaven consisted of the offer of the skull and the long bones of animals (for bones contain marrow). It was the offer to the dispenser of life.[12] 782 789 796

Many times I asked for explanations about this rite, but nobody could give any. The answer always was the same: we are accustomed to do so in order that the crops may be protected against hail, and the hail spirits be propitious next year.

LAST REGULATIONS OF THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGES

In the evening the shamans and the villagers return after having strengthened all the old mounds. The chief of the village makes a stereotyped speech: "In former times, the great emperor of all the Mongols divided his subjects into groups, attached to the service of the spirits of the temple. In keeping with that tradition of our ancestors we designate today groups of two men each who, day and night, will relieve one another and will stay at the temple in order to give warning of impending hailstorms. The two men who will be on duty during the next day, will sleep the night before in the temple, for continence is required of the watchers. When a storm appears in the northwest, they will beat the drums and cymbals, blow the horn, and ring the bell. Another group which we designate today will, when the bell rings, instantly leave their homes and run hurriedly to the principal ritual mound carrying with them the god of the temple in the sedan chair and all the other gods, the drums, cymbals and horn, and banners. They will take with them some black bowls, which will be placed upside down on the center of the mound. In the temple incense and cypress boughs will be offered, the throne (stake) of the god, erected in front of the temple gate, will be thrust deeper in the ground, and the bowls on top of the roof of the entrance will be turned upside down." The speech is finished. The other gods mentioned in the speech are stakes, octagonal in shape, the upper part of which represents a human head. (Taoists use octagonal stakes when they perform the rites against [622]

[12] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 3: 542. [p. 103(B)]

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hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is attached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

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examines their position. "All right!" he cries. "all events will be all right this year, the village will enjoy peace and thrive; this year you will be preserved from hail!" A piece of red cloth is tied with a red rope on the bottle, which is put under the empty container inside the temple for seven days.

After all the rites have been accomplished, the villagers go home taking with them their own thrones of the ancestors and as many paper banners and streamers as possible, in order to place them with the deities honored at home. The shamans and the elders have a meal and plenty of wine for the whole night. The next morning the shamans leave; they came riding empty-handed on a donkey, and go back driving the donkey, laden with rolls and offerings, some wheat, and a meager payment in cash.

FEAR OF HUMAN SACRIFICES

During the second, third, and fourth months, the time during which these rites are performed in one village after another, everywhere children are encountered wearing around their necks strips of filthy, stinking cloth, with which the women had wrapped their feet (for they do not wear stockings). The heads of some children are covered with a handkerchief containing dog hair; the foreheads of some children are scratched and lightly wounded. Several times a day the children are enjoined not to eat jujubes or nuts lying along the way or in the temple yards, for fear that the spirits, avid for human sacrifices, might allure them and take their souls. Everywhere it is said that, notwithstanding the rites taking the place of the former human sacrifices, once in a while some of the spirits take a child. All these practices are used in order to frighten the spirits and to preserve the children desired by this kind of evil spirit. If, during these months, a child dies, everybody is convinced that his soul has been taken by the terrible spirits.

These practices give evidence that the belief in human sacrifices required by spirits is deeply ingrained in the minds of the people. At that time, meeting children so arrayed affords a fine opportunity to collect details about the rites of spring, and the talks of the shamans, and to get an insight into the religious trend of mind of the people. These facts make it plain that the Monguor shamans, honoring Taoist spirits and performing most of the rites of the Wu of China and of the shamans living in the neighboring countries, have preserved their urge for human sacrifices. The Monguor shamans nurture the weakened, exhausted spirits in the temples with captured human souls. The burying of the Chinese beggar in the mound, in order to succeed in the struggle against the hail spirits, and the occasional capturing of a boy for the same purpose, facts attested by many trustworthy men, give evidence of the assumption. However, constraint is imposed upon them by a more civilized environment than that

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part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] During the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14]

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16]

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family.

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased.

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[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267-317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106, Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu, op. cit.*, 42-71.

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A widow who is remarrying, when she arrives at the door of her new husband's house, jumps over a fire kindled at the entrance of his courtyard, in order that the soul of her deceased husband will no longer follow and harm her.

Every time any utensil is supposed to have become impure, it is passed over a fire. The shamans and lamas, before using their religious paraphernalia, smoke them over a fire.

Usually the lamas, at the time of epidemics, try first to cajole and placate these evil doers, hoping that they will stay their calamities, making the magnificent fire offering called *tao Huo-t'an*, "the pouring of a plain of fire." It consists of burning, on a limited surface, a pile of logs of different kinds of wood, reputed to be odoriferous or expensive, with all available kinds of fragrant herbs and spices, dried aromatic flowers, all kinds of grains. The fire is lit by sparks struck from a flint, or by the rays of the sun passing through a magnifying glass, for the fire must be pure also. The fire is kept up by the intermittent pouring of molten butter on it by lamas, who recite texts during seven days in order to win the hearts of the evil doers. They make several *tormas* and design *mandalas* [17] for the arranagement of the logs. The whole is accompanied by an unusual display of the most detailed rites, for which each lama has his own explanation and his own way of acting, ringing bells, beating drums, blowing horns, while the family prostrates itself. This is the famous pouring of fire on a huge surface "in order to gain the good graces of the malignant spirits by a magnificent fire offering." [18]

Some lamas resort, for the same reason, to a "white Wei-sang." One hundred logs of odoriferous wood are white-washed with lime-wash and kindled as described above. The aim of the rite is again to pull the heartstrings of the evil spirits by means of a pure fire offering and to invite them to stop the calamities.

However, when the two rites have proved unsuccessful, the lamas try the "black Wei-sang," using the magical power of the fire for dispelling the evil spirits. In a forlorn and remote spot, a pile of the most inexpensive and dirty wood is prepared with all kinds of smelly herbs and spoiled grain. The fire is kindled with dung and on top of the blazing pile is poured the urine of a black donkey; *tormas* are made with black spoiled flour. Condemning the evil spirits with such an abject fire offering, they hope they will leave the family, or the village, in order to avoid scorn and disdain, and that the magical power of the fire for repelling them will be more effective.

[17] *Mandalas* are so-called "magic circles" by which the divinities are coerced into assisting the votary to reach "the other shore." While they are being made, the makers recite charmed sentences (dharani) supposed to have been composed by several divinities, which are used as incantations for procuring their assistance in peril as well as in ordinary temporal affairs. L. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, 144, second ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[18] Schröder, Der Feuerguss, *op. cit.*, 860.

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If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang."

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen.

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual.

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her.

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire.

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

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with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red-lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

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When the building of the walls was finished, the images having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume.

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and circumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans.

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country.

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

M [203] [604] [603] [553] The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

M [184] Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, although the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [191] [199] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 789 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.